

Against Resistance of Lawful Powers: ^{W 812}

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED AT
WHITE-HALL,
Novemb. Vth. 1661.

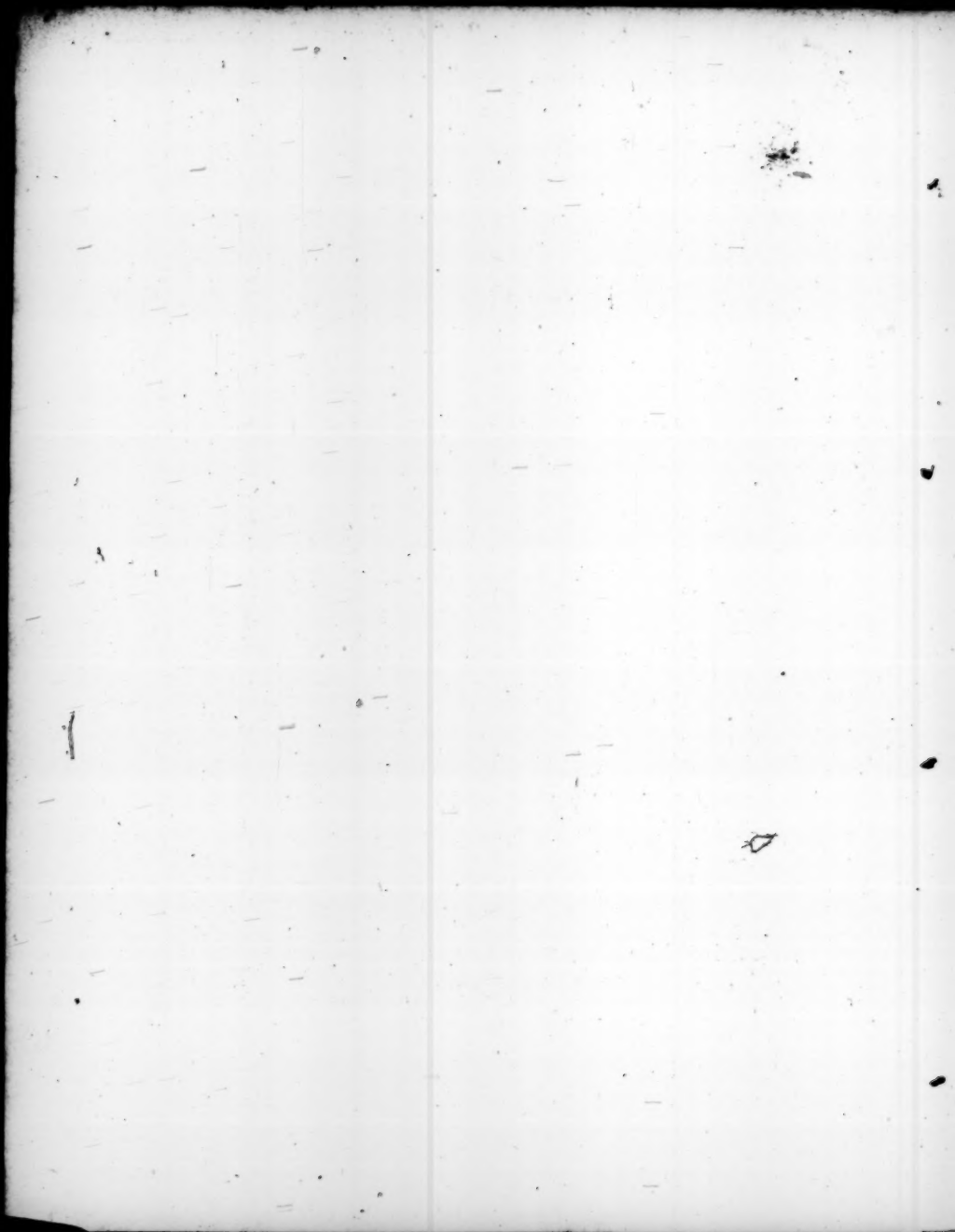
By *SETH WARD*, D. D.

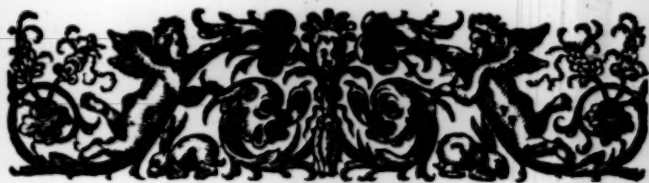
Chaplain to His Majesty.

Published by His MAJESTIE'S Command.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Tho: Roycroft*, for *John Martin*, *James Allestry*,
and *Tho: Dicus*, at the *Bell* in *St. Paul's Church-*
yard, MDCLXI.





TO THE
Most High and Mighty PRINCE,
CHARLES the II.

By the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland,*
France, and Ireland, Defender of the
Faith, &c.

May it please Your Majesty,



F, when the present Service
was with great Favour laid
upon me by that most Re-
verend Person, to whom I not
onely ow Canonical Obedience,
but a free disposal of my Con-
cernments, I did not without
fear address my self to the
Undertaking; and if now I make my humble
approach into Your Presence with *Diffidence*,

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and

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and Trembling, and without those Tokens of Joy, which would be agreeable to the Honour I have received in being by Your Majesty encouraged to make this *Offering*: Your Majesty (being as an *Angel of God*) will graciously be pleased to discern, that no *Averseness* from the *Service* of Your Majesty, and the Church, Nor apprehension of Difficulty in what I was to undertake, Nor fear of the Adversaries of the Truth, have created these *Passions* in me; but that they are wholly derived from other Causes. For, next to the great end of all my hopes, I shall not so earnestly snatch at any thing, as the opportunities of serving God in that Station he hath ordered for me in the Church of *Christ*, in which service I apprehend the acts of Loyalty, and Duty to Your Sacred Majesty, and of teaching men so, to be most eminently involved.

As for the easiness of this performance, I am perswaded in my Conscience, that to him, who hath embraced *Christianity* in the true and genuine Spirit of it, and to those, who without vile Affections, and Carnal Interests, shall apply themselves to know the Mind of God (delivered in the *Scriptures*) no one thing is more clear, and evident, or pressed more urgently by the *Holy Spirit*, then is the *Doctrine*, which I have delivered. If there be such things, as damnable *Heresies*, the de-
nial

The Epistle Dedicatory.

nial of Christ himself (the Lord that bought us, blessed for ever) is not more truly an *Heresie*, or a damnable *Heresie*, then that *Doctrines*, which doth encourage Subjects to despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities. We are not to marvel, if we have seen, that, after this grand *Heresie* had broken its way thorough the Consciences of men, the sholes of others passed clear without control; and that those *Doctrines*, and *Practises*, which, in the purest Times, were abhorred as most heretical, and profane, were made the marks of the greatest Godliness, and instances of the highest attainments in Religion. But on the other side, it is considerable, that in the late days of darkness, and of gloominess, God did not leave this Truth without witness: but, amidst all the Blasphemies, where-with Your Glorious Father (now with God) was, in the day of His Calamity, blasphemed, even *Rabshakeh* * was driven to acknowledge, that the *Doctrine of Resistance* was a Mystery concealed from the Prophets, the Apostles, and Primitive Christians, and reserved to be revealed in our Times; upon whom the ends of the World are come. And that our teaching Souldiers (who taught the Nation with Briers, and Thorns, as Gideon did the men of Succoth) not able to resist the Spirit speaking in the Apostles, were wont to resort

* J. G.
Anti-Cal.
val.

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sort to this foolish Refuge, that the Doctrine of
* 2 Pet. Obedience was a * present Truth (an *ipsumque* not
.i. 12. to continue) abusing the Saying of St. Peter, as
they did other Scriptures, to their own Destruction.

As for the *Adversaries* of the Truths, which I have
delivered (either on the one hand, or the other)
how great soever they may appear in their own
Eyes, or in the Eyes of their Admirers, I hum-
bly conceive it may be no Transgression of the
Lines of Modesty, if I shall freely profess, that
they are not terrible in mine: no man hath more
reason, then my self, to be laid low on the con-
sideration of days, and years, withdrawn from
that Study, whereunto I had been consecrated:
yet (after what hath been spoken) me thinks in
this Cause I should not fear. My fear hath been,
that in a Cause of so great consequence, so clear,
so nobly handled by the greatest *Worthies* of the
Church of England, I should not finde any thing
to be tolerably spoken, before the greatest, and
most revered Judgment under Heaven. And
I now tremble to think that such Failings, as in
the current of Pronuntiation might disappear,
being now brought to view, the *Present*, which I
tender, may instead of an *Offering* be an *Offence*.
My fear hath been, and still is, lest the Truth of
that *Gospel*, wherein I stand, should any way
suffer

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suffer prejudice by the Weaknesses, and Disadvantages, wherewith it hath been delivered: but we have a gracious God, and Your Majesty is gracious. I am not ignorant how much the true Cause of God in the World (which is truly stated to lie against the Carnal, and Spiritual wickedness of men) is entrusted in the hands of *Princes*. I know likewise, and am assured, that if men be taught, or brought to believe, that the utmost *hazard* of the greatest *Transgressions* is onely the loss of a few days, or years of life, (such as they finde it) it will be impossible for *humane Laws* to give *check* to the unruly Lusts of men, or for *Society* to consist. Knowing this, and knowing likewise the Scandals laid upon Religion, I have proposed, in all humble sincerity, to lay before Your Majesty the true state of these matters; to separate the *pretious* from the *vile* (the *sincere* spirit of Religion from the *adulterate* pretenses of it) and (if it should please the Authour of Religion, and Government, so far to bless my poor endeavours) by unaffected, and unstrained *Arguments*, to do right to the *Doctrine* of our *Church*, and render our *Religion* lovely in Your Eyes, to represent to Your Majesty how much You have been favoured of God, who hath so far wedded Your
Con-

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Concernments , and interwoven his Interests with Yours ; and of how great Concernment it is to Your Majesty, to endeavour the settlement of the true Religion, and to exert that Power, wherewith You are entrusted, to the eradication of *Atheism*, and *Prophaneness*, and to the pulling down of the strong Holds of *Satan*. That this Resolution is deeply fixed in Your Bosom, God hath put into the Heart of Your Majesty to declare : may the same God be pleased to perform this great and true Work of *Reformation* by Your Hand ; may Wickedness be rooted out, and all things, that are generous, and praise-worthy, flourish in Your time ; may Your Majesty live many, happy, and glorious days upon Earth, and be afterwards crowned with Glory, and Immortality,

So prayeth

Your Majestie's most humbly

devoted Chaplain,

SETH WARD.



ROM. XIII. 2.

And they, that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

Amongst all the *Stratagemes* of the *Devil*, tending to the undermining of *Religion*, and the subversion of the *Souls* of men, though there cannot be any more unreasonable, yet there was never any more unhappily successfull, then the creating, and fomenting an *Opinion* in the world, that *Religion* is an enemy to *Government*, and the bringing *Sincerity*, and *Zeal* in *Religion* into jealousy, and disgrace with the *Civil Powers*.

It was by *this* Jealousie, blown into 'the heads of the *High-Priests*, and the *Sanhedrim* amongst the *Jews*, and of *Herod*, and *Pontius Pilate*, that *Christ* himself (the *Captain of our Salvation*, the *Authour*, and *Finisher of our Faith*) was accused, condemned, and executed on a Tree. By *this*

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the *Apostles* were haled before the *Governours* of *Provinces*, forced from one City to flie unto another: for *this* they endured bonds, and imprisonment, and sundry kindes of death. It was through *this* Fancie, that the *Christians*, for three hundred years together, endured the rage of *Heathen Emperours*; being destitute, afflicted, and tormented. Our Lord *Christ* was traduced as an enemy to *Caesar*, a man refractory to the *Roman Laws*, and a *Non-conformist* to the *Religion*, and *Laws* of his *Country*. The *Apostles* were charged as *disturbers* of the *publick peace*, with turning the *world upside down*. The *Primitive Christians* were accounted *Enemies* to the *Common-wealth*, adverse, and malevolent to the *Empire*: and the *Christian Religion* it self was bruited, and surmised to have something in it offensive, and dangerous to the *Civil Government*; as appears not onely by the *Edicts* of *Heathen Emperours*, but also by the *Apologies* of *Clement Alexandrinus* in his fourth Book, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Athenagoras*, &c.

Neither was it thus onely of *Old*, before the *Roman Empire* was become *Christian*; but even since the time of *Constantine*, down to our *Fathers* days, nay to our own, we shall finde the *Devil* still managing the same pretense, carrying on the same *Anti-Christian* Myserie of Iniquity, which began to work in the time of our Lord *Christ*, and his *Apostles*.

Those, that profess to know the *Arcanum Imperii*, and publickly proclaim themselves to the world to be qualified for *Molders* of *Common-wealths*,

wealths, and *Dictatours to Princes*, are the Writers of *Politicks*; *Machiavel* abroad, and others nearer home: some of these, pretending Discoveries of things unknown to all our *Fathers*, if they be strictly analysed, will be found to resolve their whole Mysterie into this one pretense; that *Religion*, in the height, and exaltation of it, is prejudicial to *Policy*; and that, to be a *thorow-paced*, a *sincere* and *zealous Christian*, is to be *dangerous* to the *State*.

As the remedy for which evil, they have thought fit, and necessary, to enervate the *Principles* of all *Religion* so far as to remove the Doctrine of *Good* and *Evil*, the *Immortality* of the *Soul*, the *Rewards* and *Punishments* of the *world to come*; that so *Religion* may appear wholly to derive from *Policy*.

How destructive these *Doctrines* are, not onely to the *Souls* of men, in reference to the *world to come*; but to the *Interests* of *this life* (the regular, and secure acquisition, and enjoyment whereof, are entirely derived from the great, and everlasting Ordinance of *Government*) I am not now called to speak. But surely it cannot be unnecessary to endeavour to *state* this *Question*, to search into the *grounds* of this pretense, to examine thorowly from whence all this *clamour*, these *fears*, and *jealousies*; whence all this mighty *scandal* hath arisen.

The *Gospel* of our *Saviour* is not like the *Alcoran*, which hates the light, and abhors a strict examination of the *Principles*, whereon it stands. When the *Jews* contended with our *Saviour*, and opposed his Doctrine, he desired to bring the

matter in question to a *rational* decision, *John x.* The *Question* there was, Whether he were the *Son of God.* And he propounds them this fair *examinor*, Verse 37. *If I do the works of my Father, believe me : if I do not, believe me not.*

And I verily, as a *Minister of Christ* (though the meanest of ten thousand) am bold in the power, and through the evidence of the Truth of the Gospel to say, Let the Adversaries of *Religion* search, and look; let them employ their *Wit*, their *Industry*, their *Logick*, if any thing can be found in the *Principles of Christianity*, prejudicial to the power of *just*, and *lawfull Magistrates*; Nay moreover, if it be possible for *Men*, or *Angels*, to state the *rights of Civil Government* upon clearer, and firmer *Principles*, to secure them by more *powerfull Obligations*, to urge them upon men by more *efficacious Motives of Rewards*, and *Punishments*, then those are, which the very *Foundations of Christianity* do expressly propound: then let the *Gospel*, and the *Ministers* of it, endure all that contempt, and obloquie, which these men desire to cast upon them.

As for the *Foundations* of our *Religion*; there are those, that tell us, that *Christianity* is founded upon *Cephas* (which is indeed by interpretation a *Stone*) but the *Apostle* tells us (*Eph. ii. 20.*) that we are built upon the *Foundation of the Prophets, and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-stone*: wherefore by these the present *Question* is to be decided.

If any men, at any time, taking upon them the
Sacred

Sacred name of *Christians*, have swerved from the rule of their *Profession*, and (acting contrary to the Spirit of *Christ*) have made that *Holy Name* to be blasphemed; it is reason, that they be esteemed the utter *Enemies* of *Christianity*, and that they themselves should bear their *Condemnation*: but to charge their *Exorbitancies* upon that *Profession*, which they have profaned, and injured, is such an *injustice*, as cannot consist with *Moral Honesty*, or *Philosophical Ingenuity*.

So then, *hic Rhodus, hic saltus*. As Saint Paul (1 Cor. xv. 14, 17, 20.) concerning the Resurrection of *Christ*, If *Christ* be not risen, our *Preaching* is vain, and your *Faith* is vain; — but now is *Christ* risen: so I; If, within the compass of those *Foundations*, which I have mentioned, be found any colour, or shadow of licence for any person whatsoever, upon any pretense whatsoever, to entrench upon the power of lawfull Magistrates; if any *Warrant* at all for open *Rebellion*, or privy *Conspiracies*; for *Murthering*, or *deposing* of *Princes*, or absolving *Subjects* from their *Allegiance*: then let *Kings* cease to be our nursing-Fathers, and *Queens* to be our nursing-Mothers; let *David* look to his own house; let the light of our *Eyes*, the breath of our *Nostrils*, the Restorer of *Religion*, the Defender of our *Faith* look rather first to defend himself. It will then be reasonable to expect, that the *Kings* of the earth should stand up, and * the Rulers take Council together against the Lord, and against his *Christ*, that they should break their bonds in sunder, and cast their cords from them: then

* Psal. ii.

then our *Preaching is vain, and your Faith is vain.*

But now, indeed, the *Case* is otherwise, and that evidently. What the *Laws* of men could never do with all their *Temporal Rewards*, and *Punishments*, in that they are weak; that *Christianity*, in the true Spirit of it, performs, to the utmost height, that is conceivable.

The *Foundation of Government*, and *Obedience*, is deeply, and firmly rooted in the *Foundation of our Religion*. And, if the *Scripture* cannot be broken, if it be true, that *Heaven, and Earth shall pass away, before one jot of it shall pass away*: it is as true, that the *Ordinances of the Sun, and Moon* shall fail, before this *Ordinance* shall be dissolved. For if by the *Principles of our Religion* we are obliged to believe concerning the *Books of the Old Testament*, that they have been delivered by *holy men of God, who spake, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*, 2 Pet. i. 21. then the *Holy Ghost* hath said, *By me Kings reign, &c.* Prov. viii. 15. If *Christ* be the *Son of God*; the *Son of God* hath said, *Render to Cæsar the things, which are Cæsar's*, Mat. xxii. 21. If the *Holy Spirit* did overshadow *Peter*, and the rest of the *Apostles*; then *Peter*, overshadowed, and filled with the Spirit, commands us in the Name of God to *submit our selves to every Ordinance of man*, 1 Pet. ii. 13. If *Saint Paul* were called to be an *Apostle* by the miraculous appearance of our Lord *Christ* after his *Ascension*, and was by him immediately instructed in the pure, and genuine spirit of *Christianity*; then *Saint Paul's Theory concerning Government* is an authentick

authentick *Christian* Theory, whereby the *Doctrines*, and *practises* of *Christians* are to be judged: and that *Theory* is delivered in the seven first Verses of this *Chapter*; *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, &c. And they, that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

I call it a *Christian Theory of Government*; because it is a brief, and comprehensive *Scheme*, whereby all *Questions* concerning *Obedience*, and *Government*, may, according to *Christian Principles*, be resolved.

The whole *Discourse* of the *Apostle* consisteth of two *general parts*;

{ First, A *strict Injunction.*

{ Secondly, *Effectual Motives.*

First, The *Injunction* in the first words, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, &c.*

Secondly, The *Motives* in the words following, which are taken from

I. The *Original*, and *Institution* of *Government*; it is *ordained of God*: hence follows

II. The *Sinfulness* of *Resistance*; *They resist the Ordinance of God.* And

III. The *Danger* of it; *They shall receive Damnation.* Which is again enforced by

IV. The *End* of *Government* { *Evil* } men.
in respect of { *Good* }

Out of all which follows

V. The *Necessity* of *Subjection*; *Wherefore ye must needs be subject.* And

VI. The *Nature* of that *Necessity*: it is not of *Prudence*, but of *Conscience.*

After

After all which the *Apostle* (like a legitimate *Demonstratour*, resumes his *Proposition*, and concludes it with an *ἵνα ἡμῖν*, Verse 7. *Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.*

The words, which I have chosen, contain in them the *Danger* of *Resistance* to the *Civil Powers*. They relate both to the *Antecedent*, and *Subsequent* parts of the *Apostle's Discourse*, and are as efficacious towards the pressing of the *Injunction* of *Obedience*, as it is possible for words to express, or men to conceive.

The strongest, and most operative *Arguments* upon men (at leastwise — *οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσιν*) are *Arguments of Terrour*. The most terrible thing within the compass of humane apprehension, is *Damnation*: which imports, besides the *judgements* of this life, the *eternal* privation of the enjoyment of God, *utter Darkneß*, and *everlasting Burnings*.

Those, that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation

Expl.

Those, that resist ἁντιστάμενος. *Resistance* is a *Relative Act*, and it implies some *Person*, or *Thing*, to be resisted. What then is the *Correlate* of ἁντιστάμενος?

That is delivered in the first Verse, *Those, that resist* ἐξουίας καὶ ἀρχῶν, *the Authorities set over them*, *Civil Authorities* having *jus Gladii*, the *Authorities Supreme*, or *Subordinate*, justly obtaining over them. It is not *δύναμις*, or *κράτος*, which is here used, (which signifie *corporal strength*, and *power*) but *ἐξουία*, which the *Scripture* distinguisheth from both

both the other. From *Δύναμις*, *Luke* iv. 36. and ix. 1. 1 *Cor.* xv. 24. *Ephes.* i. 21. from *ἐξουσία*, *Jude* 25. It answers the *Hebrew* word *מְלָכָה*, which the *Septuagint* translates by all the names of *Legal Authority*; *ἀρχή*, *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐξουσία*, *κυρία*, *δυναστεία*, *διοκρομία*. It is taken for the *Persons of Governours*, as well as for their *Power*: so *Ephes.* iii. 10. *That to Principalities, and Powers* (*ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις*) might be known, &c. and *οὗτοι τὰς ἐξουσίας, καὶ τὰς κοσμοκρατορίας*, against *Powers*, and the *Rulers of this world*; *Ephes.* vii. 2. So that we may not separate their *Personal*, and their *Politick capacity*.

It remains, that we enquire the meaning of *ἀντιστάτης*, and *ἀντιπαράστης*, what it is to *resist* in the *Language of the Gospel*. Now,

1. That to *oppose by force* is to *resist*, it is so plain, that I need not speak to it. We meet both the words in that sence, *James* iv. 6, 7. *Κύριος ὑπερφάνους ἀνίσταται*, *God resisteth the proud*; and *ἀνίστης τῷ διαβόλῳ*, *Resist the Devil*.

2. But the word signifies *Opposition by subtilty*, as well as *by force*. The *Opposition of Elymas the Sorcerer to Saint Paul* is expressed by this word, *Act.* xii. 8. *ἀνίστατο* and the *opposition of Jannes, and Jambres to Moses*, *ἀνίσταται*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 15.

3. And lastly, it signifies *Opposition by Words*, as well as *by Deeds*. So *ἀνίστην*, καὶ *ἀνίστηναι*, to *gain-say*, and to *resist*, are the same, *Luke* xxi. 15. and *ἀνίστηναι* is to *contradict*, *Acts* vi. 10.

The words then do clearly, and plainly comprehend all manner of *resistance*, or *opposition*.

This hitherto concerns the *Proposition* taken
C materially:

materially: if we reflect upon the *form* of it, there will be *two* things to be considered.

First, That the *Proposition* is *indefinite*, and *equi-pollent* to an *Universal*; *They, that resist*, that is, *πῶς ἅνθρωπος*, *every Soul* (as in the first Verse) *that resists*, without any exception of *persons*.

Secondly, That the *act* of *Resistance* is set down likewise *absolutely* without any *restraint*, in respect of any *Pretenses*, or *Causes* whatsoever. So that the sense of the words resolved, and expounded by the *Scriptures*, is this; Every *Soul*, which upon any *Pretense* whatsoever, in any *manner* whatsoever, shall resist the lawfull Authority, that is over him, *shall receive to himself damnation*, that is, he puts himself thereby into a state of *Damnation*.

This I conceive to be the meaning of the *Holy Ghost* in the words of my *Text*. I must acknowledge, that two things have been questioned in this *Proposition* by the men of this *unhappy, viperous, and adulterous* generation.

I. The first is, Whether τὸ κρῖμα ought to be interpreted so severely, as to signify *eternal damnation*.

II. Whether that, which is said concerning *all Persons*, and *Pretenses*, can be made good upon the *Principles of Christianity*.

I. As to the former of these, I shall onely say, that the *Argument* brought against this interpretation doth, in truth, exceedingly confirm it.

Object.

The *Allegation* is, that τὸ κρῖμα is used in *Scripture* for *Temporal Judgment*. The place produced

duced is, 1 Cor. xi. 29. *He, that eateth, and drinketh unworthily, eateth, and drinketh to his damnation to himself: where the Apostle seemeth to explain to us by the following words, Verse 30. For this cause many are weak, and sickly, and many sleep; viz. by Temporal Judgments.*

And indeed this is true; but these things likewise ought to be observed.

Sol.

1. First, that the same Penalty is denounced in the Gospel to those, who resist Authority, and to those, that are guilty of the body of Christ, 1 Cor. xi. 27. and * *trample upon the blood of the everlasting Covenant.* * Heb. x. 29.

2. That neither Ananias, and Sapphira,* nor yet the Corinthians, were by their temporal Judgments exempted from eternal.

3. And lastly, that seeing the great difference betwixt the Legal and Evangelical dispensation did consist in this, that the express Promises, and Threatnings, under the Law, were temporal; and under the Gospel eternal: if God shall, under the Gospel, besides eternal punishments due to every Sin, add moreover to some particular sins the threatnings of temporal Judgments, let these men consider what advantage they have gotten, and what can more be devised to contribute to the aggravations of such a sin. I shall say no more to the first Question, nor to that part of the Text, which concerns the damnation of Resisters precisely considered: but shall apply my self to the resolution of the second.

II. It is impossible in half an hour, to speak concerning

cerning all those pretences for *resistance* of *Magistrates*; which, being raised by *Satan*, and made use of by the children of *disobedience*, are falsely charged upon *Religion*. I shall single out some of the chief of them, and examine them by the *Law*, and the *Testimony*, by the *Old*, and *New Testament*; adding to them, as occasion requires, the *judgment*, and *prædise* of the *Primitive Christians*; and afterwards make a brief *Application*.

Those, which have given the *greatest scandal*, as having troubled the *Christian world*, and almost turned it upside down, are reducible to the two *Heads of Religion, and Civil Affairs*.

First, Those, which refer to *Religion*, are such *scandalous Tenets* as these;

I. That *Erroneous* (suppose *Heretical*, or *Idolatrous*) *Powers* may be resisted; especially, if they endeavour to force men to their own *Religion*.

II. That *Christian Magistrates* have no power in matters of *Religion*: viz. None

1. In religious Causes.

2. Over religious Persons. } By Orders.
By personal Gifts.

Secondly, Those, which refer to matters *Civil*, are reducible to such as these;

I. *Harsh Administration*.

II. *Pretences of Competition of power*: and the like.

Now I shall not be afraid, or backward, to acknowledge; that, if any one of these *Tenets* be agreeable to the *Principles of Christianity*, or to the *prædise* of the *Primitive, and purest Christians*, who are

are to be presumed to have known the minde of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*: then we are to admit, that there is reason in what is alledged to create a *Jealousy* upon *Religion*.

For 1. If *Erroneous*, *Heretical*, or *Idolatrous Magistrates* may be resisted, (because they are so, or because they joyn oppression of Godly men unto their *Error* in *Religion*, how can any *Kingdom* stand? These are matters, wherein every man makes himself a *Judge*; and it is not material, whether he judge *righteous*, or *unrighteous* judgment; the matter once stated in *Thesis*, that in *such Cases* men may resist, the *Hypothesis* is easily made, and men let loose to act according to their proper *Apprehensions*, or the *Pretences* of those, who have power with them.

What shall be done, when, at the same time, a *Prince* shall be judged, by one part of his *Subjects*, *Heretical*, and *prophane*, for departing from *Superstition*, and vindicating his power from *unjust Usurpations* over it: while another part shall judge him to be *Superstitious*, and will never believe him to *abhor Idols*, so long as he will not *commit Sacrilege*? What shall be done, while some conclude him to be *irreligious*, because he will not *worship Images*; others *Idolatrous*, because he *kneels* at the *Communion*? and both esteem him an *Oppressor*: because he *restrains* their *Zeal*, and *hinders* them from that *excess* of *Riot*, which they *pant* after, to the devouring of one another?

Supposing this *Tenet* to be true; it is indeed evident, no *Government* can be. But now what

Colour

Colour can there be, to charge this *Tenet* upon *Christianity*? Doth the *Old*, or *New Testament* give any occasion to this *Doctrine*? Is it countenanced ^{1.} by *Moses*? or ^{2.} by the *Prophets*? or ^{3.} by our *Saviour*? or ^{4.} by the *Apostles*? ^{5.} That *Cloud of Witnesses* (the *Noble Army of Martyrs*) did they give *Testimony* to this *Assertion*, or to the contrary? I may not insist: a word to each of these.

1. *Moses* was so far from the *Doctrine of Resistance*; that, notwithstanding the *hardness* of *Pharaoh's* heart, the *cruelty* of the *Bondage*, the *weakness* of the *Egyptians* by *Plagues*, the *numbers* of *Israel*, six hundred thousand, and three thousand five hundred and fifty fighting men above twenty years old; besides the *Tribe of Levi*: yet he would not lead them into the *promised Land* without *Pharaoh's* *positive*, and *express* consent to their *Departure*.

2. As for the *Prophets*; in the third Chapter of *Daniel* we finde *three* of *God's Children* put to the *trial* (the *fiery trial*) of this *Doctrine*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an *Idolater*, and a *Tyrant*, acting highly under *both* those *Capacities* together. They were cast into the *fiery Furnace*, because they would not *worship* the *golden Image*, which he had set up. And in the sixth. we finde *Daniel* thrown into the *Lion's den*, onely for *praying* to the *God of Israel*. Let us consider their *Behaviour*, did they *resist*, or *mutiny*, or labour to *alienate*, or *discontent* or (by denouncing *threats*, or *terrors*) to *discourage* Subjects from *Obedience*? How had they been instructed by their *Prophets*? *Jeremy* (2 *Chron.*

xxxvi. 13.) had taught them, that *Zedekiah* had turned from the Lord God of *Israel*, in *rebelliſg* againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had made him *ſwear by God*: and that they ought to *ſeek the peace of the City, whether they were carried Captives, and to pray unto the Lord for it*: Jer. xxix. 7. And therefore the three *Children* in the third of *Daniel* onely refer themſelves to *God* for deliverance: and *Daniel*, in the miſt of the *Lion's den*, prays heartily for *Darius, O King, live for ever!* Dan. vi. 21.

3. In the next place, let us conſider the *Cafe* of *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, and ſee whether any ſuch *Tenet* may be collected from *their Doctrines, or Practiſe*; their *Speeches*, or their *Actions*. As for what concerns our Lord *Chriſt*, I have had the Honour formerly in this place more at large to vindicate him from ſuch *aſperſions*. He paid *Tribute* at the expenſe of a *Miracle*, Mat. xvii. 27. He ſubmitted himſelf to all the *Powers*, that were over him; to the *Sanhedrim*, and their *Delegates*, to *Herod*, to *Pontius Pilate*: he ſubmitted himſelf to death by an *unjuſt Sentence*, even to the *bitter, and accuſed death* upon the *Croſs*; Philip. ii. 8. This was his *Practiſe*: as for his *Doctrine*; He taught men to render to *Cæſar the things, that were Cæſar's*; Mat. xxii. 21. He acknowledged *Pilate's power* to be from above; John xix. 11. He rebuked *Peter* for *ſmiting* with the *ſword*; and told him, that *thoſe, that take the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword*; Mat. xxvi. 52. He taught his *Diſciples* to pray for them, which ſhould *perſecute* them; Mat. v. 44. And the *utmoſt permiſſion*, which he gave them, was, when they

they were persecuted in one city, to fly unto another; Matth. x. 23.

4. As for the *Apostles*: They taught men to obey them, that have the rule over them; Hebr. xiii. 17. to submit themselves to every Ordinance of man; 1 Pet. ii. 13. to do all things without murmuring, or disputing; Philip. ii. 14. to pray for Kings, and all, that are in Authority; 1 Tim. ii. 2. Saint Peter hath told us, that such, as despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, are (in an especial manner) reserved to Judgment; 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10. and Saint Paul, in my Text, that they shall receive Damnation.

This Doctrine they Sealed with their blood. Saint Peter (according to Ecclesiastical Tradition) was crucified, and Saint Paul beheaded, James the son of Zebedeus slain with the sword, &c.

Now, as for the Powers, to which all these Instructions, and Behaviours did refer, they were for Idolatry, and Tyranny, and Persecution, *Humani generis portenta*.

Obj.

Sol.

If it be objected, that, All these submitted, because they were not able to resist: the Answer, upon Christian Principles, might be; that He, which restrained the Flames, and stopped the mouths of Lions, could have given his servants power to resist; that Christ could have prayed his Father, who would have * given him more then twelve Legions of Angels for his relief; that the Apostles, who wrought mighty signes, and wonders, could have rescued themselves: had it not rather pleased the great Ordainer of Powers, by their submission, to ratifie, and establish the Doctrine of Obedience.

5. But

* Matth. xxvi.
53.

5. But the *belief*, and *practise* of the *Primitive Christians* will satisfie this *Objection* even to *common Sense*, and *Reason*.

The *Instances* in this kinde are infinite, where *Christians*, abounding in *numbers*, being in *Arms*, and abundantly able to make *resistance*, have chosen, with the expense of their *lives*, to yield *obedience* to *Idolaters*, persecuting them for their *Religion*. I shall name but two *Examples*.

Tertullian * tells the *Emperour*, that his *Cities*, * *Apolog.*
Islands, *Castles*, *Councils*, *Armies*, *Regiments*, and *S. 37.*
Companies; the *Palace*, the *Senate*, the *Courts* of
Judicature were filled with *Christians*: and yet
they submitted to *persecution*.

And we read, that the *Thebean Legion* consisted of six thousand, six hundred, sixty and six persons, every man *Christian*, when they submitted to the *Decimation* of *Maximinian* for *Religion*.

I shall say no more to the *first Pretense*.

II. Now the *second* is like unto it, alike *prejudicial* to *Government*; alike *false*, and *scandalous* to *Religion*.

An *House*, or * *Kingdom* divided cannot stand: * *Mat. xii. 25.*
and * *God is not the Authour of Confusion, but of* * *1 Cor. xiv. 33.*
Peace; and that especially in *Religion*. If none have this *power* to order matters of *Religion*, there must be *Confusion*: if any other beside the *Supreme Magistrate*, there will be *Division*. The inevitable *Inconveniences* of the exemption of *religious Things*, and *religious Persons*, from the *power* of the *Magistrate*, are abundantly set forth by such, as would improve them to the *disadvantage* of

D

* *Religion.*

Religion. And, indeed, to go about to *deny*, or to *diminish* the dismal *Consequences* of such *Pretences*, were to endeavour to *put out* the eyes of all the men of *Reason*, and *Experience* in the world.

My present Duty is to enquire, what *relation* these *Pretences* have to the *Principles* of *Christianity*; and that

First, As to *religious Causes*.

Secondly, As to *Ecclesiastical Persons*.

Thirdly, As to *holy*, or *gifted Brethren*; as they style themselves.

Now, in order to a *resolution* in these *Enquiries*, I shall (as a *Lemma*) humbly propose one *Observation*.

It is this, That, whereas there are two things, whereon all *Political administration* doth depend: 1. Concerning the *Rights*, and *Bounds*, and *Regulation* of *Sovereign Powers*; 2. Concerning the *Duties*, and *Obedience* of *Subjects*: we finde both *Christ*, and the *Apostles*, frequently labouring to settle in the *Consciences* of men that part, which concerns *Obedience*; but no where *restraining*, or *limiting*, or particularly *regulating* the Office of *Sovereign Powers*; but leaving them to those *general Rules*, which concern the *Account*, and *Duty* of all men in their several stations, and to the *terms*, whereupon the *Providence* of God was wont to settle the *Princes*, and *Governours* of the *World*. Let the *rights* of *Cæsar* be what they will (in reference to *Tribute*, or other matters) *Christ* will not *determine* them: This he will; those things, which belong to *Cæsar* (according to

to *Jus Gentium*) must be rendered to him. He doth not examine *Pilate's power*, in Case of *Blasphemy*, or *Treason*; but acknowledges it, and *submits*. He falls not upon *sifting*, or *examining* the power of the *Sanhedrim*; either their *original power*, or the power left them by the *Romans*: They sit in *Moses Chair*, &c. *Whatsoever therefore they bid you do, do it*; Matth. xxiii. 2, 3.

And so likewise the *Apostles*, they seem to be unconcerned (as it were) in the governing part of *Civil Policy*. No word is found in all their *Writings*, enquiring into the *Rights* of the *Romane Emperours* (who were *sovereign*) or limiting the Exercise of their *Power*. Onely thus much they take for certain, such, as they were, they were *ordained of God*. And they spend all their labour in *founding deeply*, and *firmlly establishing* that other part, which concerns *Obedience*.

From this *Observation* it will follow, That whatever *Things*, or *Persons* were not before the times of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, exempt from the power of the *Magistrate*, are not by the *Foundations*, and *Principles* of *Christianity* exempted. (*Non eripit mortalita, qui regna dat caelestia.*) And it will onely remain for us to enquire, what was the *maner* of the *Nations of the World*, and of *God's peculiar people*, in reference to these *Particulars*, before, and at the *Times of Christ*, and his *Apostles*. To which if we shall add the *practise* of the *best*, and *most antient* *Christian Emperours*, I know not what more can be desired to clear the *present Argument*.

I suppose it needless to put in a *Caution*, that

while we speak of the *Magistrate's* power to order matters of *Religion*; we do not entitle him to the *Priest's Office* (the *Spiritual Function*) or the *Execution* of it, in *preaching the Word*, *administering the Sacraments*, *exercising the power of Ordination*, or of the *Keys*, &c. Blessed be the Lord God of our Fathers, who hath put it into our *Sovereign's* heart to be tender of the *rights* of the *Church*, as of the *Apple* of his *Ey*.

This is a *Calumny* insisted on generally by almost all our *Adversaries*, but it is *too rude*, and *groß*, to be spoken to in this place. Rather let us see whether the *Sovereigns* among all people, *Heathen*, *Jews*, *Christians*, have not claimed, and exercised power in *all Causes*, over *all Persons*, as well *Ecclesiastical*, as *Civil*.

1. For *Causes*. The *New Testament* sometimes divides * the *Gentiles* into *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*; sometimes into *wise*, and *unwise*: according to which division the *Romanes* are, I suppose, reckoned under the *Greeks*, from whence they were mostly *extracted*, and with whom they contended in *Civility*. Briefly, ¹ the *Greeks*, ² the *Romanes*, ³ the *Barbarous Nations* did alwaies exercise *such* a power.

* *Polit. lib. 7.* (1.) *Aristotle* *, the *greatest* among the *Greeks*, tells us, that the *first*, and *principal* Thing in a *Common-Wealth* is *ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐν ταύτῃ*. And, accordingly, if we consult the *Fragments*, which are left us, of the *Laws* of the most antient *Grecian Commonwealths*, we shall finde nothing so frequent, as the *Ordinances* concerning their *Religion*.

(2.) Amongst

(2.) Amongst the *Romans*, *Cicero* (the wisest) saith, that *Religion is the Foundation of Humane Society*; as in truth it is. To say nothing of the *Ordinances* of *Numa*, the *Jus Pontificium*, &c. the *Titles* of the *Twelve Tables* are many of them concerning *Religion*.

(3.) As for the *Barbarous Nations*, I shall not multiply *Testimonies*, nor go beyond the line of *Scripture*. In the third of *Daniel* we finde an *Edict* of the King of *Babylon* enjoining all *People, Languages, and Tongues* to commit *Idolatry*; Verse 4, 5. And, by and by, another *Edict*, that no man should speak amiss of the God of *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*; Verse 29. In the sixth we finde *Darius* (the *Persian*) by the advise of his *Council* signing a *Decree*, against *petitioning* (for thirty days) any God besides himself; Verse 9. and shortly another, that all men should tremble, and fear before the God of *Daniel*; Verse 26. In the third of *Jonah*, the King of *Nineveh*, and his Nobles proclaim a *publick Fast*. In the first of *Ezra*, *Cyrus* puts forth an *Edict* to build the *Temple* at *Hierusalem*. In the fourth, *Artaxerxes* reverseth it. In the sixth, *Darius* re-inforceth it.

I suppose it is now evident, that *Greeks*, and *Barbarians* did exercise this power.

To think to elevate the force of these *Instances*, because all these were * *Strangers from God*, and * *aliens from the Common-Wealth of Israel*, is to mistake the purpose for which they are alledged. * Ephes. ii. 12.

However, it was not thus among the *Kings* of the *Nations* only, but among the holiest, and wisest of

of the Governours, and Kings of Israel, and Judæa; who for *abolishing false Worship*, and *ordaining the true*, are often highly commended by the *Holy Ghost* in the *Scriptures*. The time would fail me to speak *distinctly*, and *particularly*, of the *Ordinances* concerning *Religion*, which were made by *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasses* also, and *Josiah*: concerning whom the *Scripture* gives these *Characters*. *Moses* was the (a) *man of God*. *Joshua* (b) *the servant of the Lord*. *David* (c) *a man after God's own heart*. There was (d) *none like unto Solomon*. *Asa* (e) *his heart was perfect with the Lord*. (f) *The Lord was with Jehoshaphat*. *Hezekiah* (g) *did that, which was right in the sight of the Lord*. *Manasseh* (h) *was heard of God*. *Josiah* did that, which was right; and his (i) *Goodness* was recorded.

Now the *Acts* of every one of these concerning the *Worship* of *God*, and *matters of Religion* are recorded, and applauded in the *Scriptures*. For these all *ordered*, and *regulated Services*, and *Sacraments*, and *Covenants* with *God*; they erected *Altars*, and *Tabernacles*, and *Temples*, and dedicated them to the *Lord*; they *destroyed Idolatry*, reformed abuses in *God's Worship*, settled both the *standing Worship* of *God*, and *occasional Thanks-givings*, and *Humiliations*: to omit other matters.

The whole *Aaronical Ministry*, which consisted in *Ceremonies*, and *Sacrifices*, *Typical*, and *Carnal Ordinances*, was not ordered by the hand of *Aaron*,
but

(a) Deut.

xxxiii. 1.

(b) Josh.

xxiv. 29.

(c) 1 Sam. xiii.

14.

(d) 2 Chron.

ix. 12.

(e) 1 Kings xv.

14.

(f) 2 Chron.

xviii. 3.

(g) 2 Chron.

xxix. 2.

(h) 2 Chron.

xxxiii. 13.

(i) 2 Chron.

xxxv. 26.

but of *Moses*, who was (k) *King in Jesurun*. (k) *Deus.*
xxxiii. 5.

The *Tabernacle*, and *Temple-service* (which, beside the *Mosaical Institutions*, consisted of *Spiritual* abiding *Ordinances*) was instituted by *David*: who, being the *sweet Singer of Israel*, and acquainted more then ever any man (for ought appears) with the *ways*, and *helps of lifting up* the Heart to *spiritual intercourse* with God, to that end appointed the use of *Musick* in the *Church*; and (without fear of *stinting the Spirit*) he prescribed *Set-forms of Praise*, and *Prayers* for the use of the *Temple*; and ordered the *Service* for every day. A *Psalms*, consisting partly of the one hundred and fift, ninety sixth, and one hundred and eighteenth, he first delivered to *Asaph*, and his *Brethren*, at the reduction of the *Ark* from the house of *Obed-Edom*; 1 *Chron.* xvi. 7. And divers other *Psalms* were composed by him for the *Service* of the *Church*.

And what he had ordained, *Solomon* put in practice. In the fifth Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*, we finde the pattern of the *Service* of this Time, and Place, (l) the Sons of *Asaph*, *Heman*, (l) *Verse* 12. and *Jeduthun*, arrayed in white Linen, with *musical Instruments*, praising the Lord, saying, (m) *For he* (m) *Verse* 13. is good, &c. viz. reciting the one hundred and eighteenth *Psalms*: and, in token of God's acceptance, (n) a Cloud filled the house. (n) *Verse* 14.

The one hundred thirty and sixth *Psalms* likewise was wont to be sung in *Thanksgivings*. So we finde also (o) *Hezekiah*, and (p) *Josiah*, praising (o) 2 *Chron.* xxix. 25.
(p) 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 15.

Thus stood the matter under the *Laws* the ordering

dering of matters of Religion was not exempted from the Supreme Power. *Hexekiah* (q) varied from (q) 2 Chron. xxxix 34. *Moses* (r) his Law, and was blameless. Neither was (r) Lev. i. 6, 7. it otherwise in the best, and purest Times under the Gospel.

It had been but a slender invitation to the Emperours to become Christian; if, by submitting to Christianity, they must lose so considerable a part of the Sovereign Power enjoyed by all their Predecessors, and be thereby exposed inevitably to Seditions, and Rebelions, upon every Frantick eruption of religious Melancholie. The Primitive Emperours understood themselves otherwise, and so did the Christians under them. I may not stand to recite the Annals of the Church.

If Constantine had not interposed for the composing of the Arrian Heresie, what had become either of Government, or Religion?

The drawing up of Canons for the regulation of Religion was by our LORD committed to the Apostles, and their Successors, the Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons: but, that these Canons should be enforced as Laws by temporal Penalties, it was by the sanction of Civil Powers.

In the second Oecumenical Council, the Fathers, assembled at Constantinople, beseech Theodosius the Elder to ratifie the Decrees of that Synod.

(f) Novel.
Constit. 131.

Thus we finde Justinian (f) establishing the Homo-Canonicon, or Code of the Univerſal Church, consisting of the Canons of the four first General, and five antient Provincial Councils; and commanding them, *ut vnius fuerint, to be kept as Laws.*

Briefly,

Briefly, to determine this *Question*, we need onely to view the *Titles* of the sixteenth *Book* of the *Code* of *Theodosius*, the thirteen first *Titles* in the *Code* of *Justinian*, *Photius's* *Nomo-Canon*, and the like.

The Pretense of exemption of *Ecclesiastical Causes*, so as hath been intimated, as it is inconsistent with *Government*; so it is also with the *Principles* of *Christianity*.

2. Thus much having been spoken concerning the regulation of *Matters* of *Religion*, it will be needless to enlarge concerning the second Pretense of the exemption of *Ecclesiastical Persons*.

This Tenet is equally dangerous with the former, and equally contrary to the *Principles* of *Christianity*. It were to be wished, that all men professing themselves *Ministers* were thorowly convinced of the *Doctrine* of *Obedience*: otherwise, as they grow popular, they become dangerous. *Sacerdotum quidam eo sunt ingenio, ut, ni pareant, territent.* And Saint *Chrysostom* commenting upon *Every Soul*, &c. saith, *ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ὁ Ἐυαγγελιστής, ὁ Προφήτης*: Both the *Apostle*, the *Evangelist*, and the *Prophet*. Our Saviour was both *Priest*, and *Prophet*; and the *Apostles* were *Ecclesiastical persons*: yet did not think themselves exempted. Such persons were not exempted, either before, or after the Times of our Saviour; neither in ^{1.} a *Single*, or ^{2.} *Joynt* capacity. (t) *From the beginning it was not so.* (t) *Mat. xix. 3.*

1. As to *Single persons* under the *Law*, we finde an Instance of the *Exercise* of the *Sovereign power* over an *High-Priest* offending, in *Abiathar*, whom

E

Solomon

(u) 1 Kings ii. Solomon (u) thrust out, and placed (x) Zadoc in his room.
27.

(x) *Ibid.* 35.

2. As to the calling of *Assemblies*; before the *Gospel-times*, it did belong to the *Supreme Magistrate*. We finde *Moses*, not *Aaron*; *Joshua*, not *Eleazar*; *David*, not *Abiathar*; *Solomon*, not *Zadoc*; summoning the *Priests*, and *Levites*, to meet together. And

In the *Primitive Times* of the *Christian Emperours*, we do not meet with *Councils*, or *Synods* called by the *Bishop of Rome*, nor with *Ministers*, casting themselves into *Classical*, and *Synodical Meetings*; nor with *Assemblies of Divines*, called against, or without the *Prince's* consent.

The *indiction* of *Times*, and *Places*, the *convocation* of *Persons*, the *Presidency*, the *order of Debates*, the *dismission* of the *Assemblies*, the *reformation* of *Canons* (as to making them *Laws of the Empire*.) in the *General*, and *Provincial Councils*, were all the work of the *Supreme Magistrate*. And

As for matters of *Appeal*, we finde *Paul* appealing to *Cæsar*: *Athanasius* (from the *Synod at Tyre*) to *Constantine*; to whom three *Appeals* were likewise made in the *Cause* of *Cacilianus*, and *Donatus*: and many more *instances* of this, and the like nature.

3. I should now dismiss this *Head* concerning *Religion*, did there not remain one *Pretense* more, and that so wilde, and monstrous, that it looks as if it were the *last effort* of the *enemy of man-kinde* (*ultimus Diaboli conatus*) for it strikes at the *Heart* both of *Government*, and of *Religion*. It is this, that

Saints,

Saints, and *gifted Persons*, (as they call themselves) are *exempt* from *humane Laws*: and in effect resolves into this, that to *reprobate* others, and *assume* to themselves the *Title* of the *Godly Party*, to talk of *Reformation*, and the *power* of *Godlineſſ*, of *advancing* the *Kingdom* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. is to *juſtifie* *Sacrilege*, and *Treaſon*, and horrid *Rebellion*, and to *qualify* them for the *Kings*, and *Prieſts*, and *Prophets* of the world.

How far this *Satanical madneſſ* hath prevailed, to the *confuſion* of all things *Civil*, and *Sacred*; to the *ſcandal* of *Religion*; the *planting*, and *watering* of *Atheiſm*, and *Infidelity*; I tremble to call to our remembrance.

If my *preſent buſineſſ* were to *refute* the men, that have given this *offence*, how eaſie were it to *examine* their *Gifts*, and their *Saintſhip*, and how hard to finde them. But as the *Woman of Samaria* ſaid to our *Saviour*, (y) *Art thou greater then our Fa-* (y) Joh iv. 12.
ther *Jacob*? are they *greater Saints*, or *better gifted*, then *Peter*, and *Paul*, and the reſt of the *Apoſtles*? He, that ſaid, (z) *Let every Soul be ſubject to the* (z) 2m. xiii. 1.
higher Powers, had been (a) *rapid up* (whether in (a) 2 Cor. xii.
the *body*, or *out*, he could not tell) *to the third hea-* 2, 3.
vens: hath any of them been carried higher?

Chriſt the *natural Son* of *God*, (b) the *Brightneſſ* (b) Heb. i. 3.
of his *Glory*, the *Expreſſ Image* of his *Perſon*, ſaid,
(c) *Render to Cæſar the things, that are Cæſar's*: (c) Mat. xxii. 21.
are they *greater* then *Chriſt* alſo?

But my *preſent* *purpose* being chiefly to remove theſe *ſcandals* from *Religion*: come, and let us *reaſon* together, What could *Chriſt*, and

E 2 his

his *Apostles* have done more to prevent this *scandal*, then they have done? Their *Doctrine*, and *practise* hath been already shewn; and the *Danger*, and *Heinousness* of the *Sin of Resistance* (in all the *kindes*, and *degrees* of it) discovered; neither can any thing more be imagined, which might be desired to *anticipate*, and *obviate* this *pretense*, unless it be, that *these things* should have been particularly *foretold*, and the *Persons* (at least their *Party*, and *Set*) described; that the world might be *forewarned* of them.

Will it then *satisfy* the *enemies* of our *Religion*, concerning the *Truth*, and *Infallibility* of the *Scriptures*, and the *abhorrency* of the *Christian Principle* from this *damnable Tenet*; if it shall briefly appear, that *these things* have been punctually *foretold* by *Christ*, and his *Apostles*?

(d) *Matth. vii.*
15.

Christ (d) hath given warning of *grievous Wolves* in *Sheep's cloathing*.

(e) *2 Tim. iii. 1.*

(f) *Ibid. Verse*
4. 5.

More particularly *Saint Paul* hath told us, that (e) *in the last days perilous times should come*; that there should be (f) *heady, high-minded Traytors, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof*.

(g) *1 Pet. ii. 1.*

(h) *Ibid.*
Verse 10.

Saint Peter, that there should be (g) *false Teachers*, which should *privily bring in damnable heresies*, (h) *presumptuous, self-willed, not afraid to speak evil of Dignities*.

Now, if all this be not sufficient, *Saint Jude* hath taken up this *Prophecie* of *Saint Peter*, and given us two clear *Characters* of these *Persons*, whereby they might be known. He tells us, *That they shall be Separatists from the Church,*

Church, and ^{2.} false-pretenders to the spirit. (1) (i) Jude 19. These are they, which separate themselves, being sensual, having not the spirit.

I shall say no more to the Pretenses relating to that Head which concerns the matter of Religion.

2^{ly}. Neither shall I enlarge upon that other Head referring to matters Civil, where I instanced in two Pretenses taken from,

- § I. Harsh Administration in the Magistrate.
- § II. Competition as to power in Subjects.

I. Neither the Time, nor the Design, which I have propounded, nor (indeed) my Profession, nor Abilities do allow me to enter into the depths of the Politicks, or to discourse of the limitations of Sovereign Powers. Thus much is obvious to every man,

That there is no Cruelty so great as laxness of Government, nor any Tyranny in the World like the rage of Subjects let loose; and that the little Finger of Licentiousness is harder then the Loyns of the severest Laws, and strictest Government.

I shall briefly shew, that the Scripture, foreseeing the easiness (by reason of the Self-love, and partiality of men) of this Pretense, and the danger of it, hath directly opposed it self against it.

I shall not mention particular Commands: let us have recourse to the main Foundations; the Body, and Substance of Christianity, the MISHPAT HAMELEK (the Jus Regium) the Fundamental Law of the Kings of Israel.

1. Christianity obligeth us to believe not onely, that Christ is God, and that the Gospel is from God: but

but that all the *Circumstances* of the *Ministry* of *Christ*, and his *Apostles* were ordered by his *Providence*. Why then were the *Times* of *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, and *Nero* (out of the *Series* of the *Time* spun out from the *Creation*) chosen, and selected for the *promulgation* of the *Doctrine* of *Obedience*. If *harsh Administration* of *Power* will exempt men from *Obedience*; at that *Time*, when *Claudius*, or *Nero* was *Romane Emperour*, why should the *Holy Ghost* move *Saint Paul* to write to the *Romans*, *They, that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation?* So much briefly for the *Gospel*.

2 As for the *Jus Regium* in the *eighth* of the *first Book* of *Samuel* we finde the *Israelites* desiring a *King*: and *God* (though rejected by this motion) commands *Samuel* (k) to hearken to their voice. Yet, that they might know what they did, and not be surprised (believing they might cast off again their *King* at pleasure) he charges him to protest solemnly, and shew them מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ. Our *Translation* renders it, *The manner of the King*. The *Septuagint*, and all ancient *Eastern*, and *Western Translations* render it by words signifying the *Law*, or the *Right of the King*, *JUS REGIUM*.

(l) Verse 11, 12, &c. This (saith *Samuel* (l) shall be מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ He shall take your Sons, and Daughters, your Vine-yards, your Fields, and your Flocks, &c. He tells them of *harsh Administrations*.

Was it the meaning of the *Holy Ghost*, that (*de Jure*) Princes ought to do, or that it was lawfull for them

them to do after the manner there described?

In the seventeenth Chapter (m) of Deuteronomy (m) Verse 14. we finde the Duty of the Kings of Israel described in a way directly contrary to this; they were (n) to fear the Lord, and not to turn aside to the right (n) verse 19 hand, or to the left from his Commandments. (o) Be (o) Psal. ii. wise now therefore, O ye Kings; be instructed, ye Judges of the Earth: serve the Lord with fear, and rejoyce with trembling.

Was it a Prediction of what would be their condition, what would be the manner of their Kings?

Not that neither! We do not read of any of the Kings of Judah, or Israel, that proceeded to the height there expressed. Even Ahab, who (p) (p) I Kings sold himself to work wickedness, did not take Naboth's Vine-yard by force; he would not seize on it, till Jezebel had brought about the pretense of a Legal Forfeiture.

What then is the meaning of מִשְׁפָּט הַמֶּלֶךְ? Surely it imports thus much, that, if all this hard usage should come upon them, they might cry unto the Lord; (Verse 18) but that it would not dissolve Jus Regium (the right of Sovereignty) or enable them to resist their Kings, or rebel against them.

II. There remains yet one Pretense to speak to, it concerns Competition of Power, either on

1. Pretenses of Succession into the Magistrate's place in case of failure of Duty, or upon supposals of forfeiture of Power.

2. Pretenses of the last resolution of Power into the people, the diffused multitude; or the people's Representative, and the like.

Concerning

Concerning *which* kinde of Pretenses I must repeat what hath been said of the other. If they be admitted, they are destructive to Magistracie. If they be encouraged by Religion, there will be reason, that Magistrates be jealous over it. But now is the spirit of the Scriptures, and the tendency of it entirely bent another way.

The New Testament affords no Instance in this kinde. As to the Old, I shall desire, that two Instances may be considered,

1. The Case of David, and Saul.

2. The Case of Corah, and Moses:

which two Instances (if the time would bear it) would take in the Substance of all, that may be alledged in this kinde.

1. It is (I conceive) impossible to carry the first sort of Pretenses higher, then they were stated in the Case of David, and Saul. Saul was at first declared, and constituted King by Samuel, acting in the Name of the Lord; and, when he had reigned two years, the same Samuel, in the Name of the same God, before the same people, denounces publicly, that (q) his Kingdom should not continue; and that God had sought a man after his own heart, because he invaded the Priest's Office. (After this, he limits a certain day, he tells him, (r) This day the Lord hath rent the Kingdom of Israel from thee, and given it to thy neighbour, because of his rebellion against God in the Case of Amalek.

The pretense of Failour, and Forfeiture can go no higher. Now for the pretenses of David to step into his Government, and wrest it from him:

He

(q) 1 Sam.
xiii. 14.

(r) Chap. xv.
13.

He was anointed (f) by Samuel; for ought appears, without reservation for the life of Saul. (f) Chap. xvi. 13.

He was qualified for Government; (t) a valiant man, a man of War, prudent in matters, a comely Person, and the Lord was with him. (t) Ibid. Verse 18.

He had received Testimony from God of his Election: the Spirit of God departed from Saul, and rested upon him. He had power in his hand, he was (u) set over the men of War, accepted by all the people; all Israel, and Judah loved him. (u) Chap. xviii. 5.

After all this, you know his Provocations, his Advantages, and his Behaviour; he durst not touch the Lord's anointed; and, when another pretended to have done it at Saul's entreaty in extremis, he revenged his death, and lamented over him, (x) Ye mountains of Gilboa, &c. (x) 2 Sam. i. 21.

2. But that other Pretense, that after a lawfull Sovereign is established (according to the Supposition of my Text, and my Discourse) the power still remains in the people, (in the diffused body of them, or their Representatives) to alter the Government, as they please; it is in respect of Policy, and Government, what the Sin against the Holy Ghost is to Religion, it destroys the foundations of the peace, and safety of men, and makes that to be the Artifice of man, which is the Ordinance of God. How much God abhorred this Pretense, will appear in the Case of Corah, and his company. When God sent Moses to bring the Israelites out of Egypt, he sanctified him, and put his Name upon him; (y) Thou shalt be to him instead of God: and when he had brought them forth, he made him a (z) Prince, and a (a) Law-giver over them. (y) Exod. iv. 16. (z) Acts vii. 35. (a) Deut. xxxiii. 4.

F

The

The *supreme Power* was in *Moses*, who called to his assistance a *Senate*, or *Parliament*, (לְאֹהֲרָיִם) consisting of the *Heads* of the *Tribes* of *Israel*.
 (b) *Num. xvi.* In this Council (b) *Nature* soon began to work,
 (c) *Psal. cvi.* some (c) *envied* *Moses*, whom *God* had chosen, and
 16' *Aaron* the *Saint* of the *Lord*. *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, the *Sons* of *Eliab*, *Heads* of *Families*, in the *Tribe* of *Reuben*, thought both the *Civil Power*, and (if that must be transferred, from the *first-born*, to one *Tribe*) the *Priesthood* also was due to them, being *Eldest Brethren* of the *Eldest Tribe*. *Korah*, an *eminent* man amongst the *Levites*, was offended, that the *High-Priest's* Office went beside him, and was settled upon *Aaron*, and his *Posterity*.

These were their secret *grievs*; for a redress whereof they make a *party* in the *Parliament*, they gain to them two hundred and fifty men, famous in the *Parliament*, men of *renown*; and, in order to their *ambitious Designs*, they *remonstrates* against *Moses*, Verse 13. and their *Declaration* was this *Pretense*, which we are upon; that *all* the *Congregation* כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל were *Holy*, and that *Moses*, and *Aaron* had *lifted up* themselves above them; that is, that their *power* was a *contrivance* of themselves, not an *Ordinance* of *God*; that, notwithstanding what *God* had done to *settle* the *Civil*, and *Ecclesiastical power*, it remained still in the *people*, or their *Representatives* assembled together. Now the *Scripture* tells us, that, since the world began, *God* was never more *highly* provoked, then upon this occasion; when he heard this, he was *wrath*, and greatly *abhorred* them; he *invented*

vented a *new thing* in the world for their sakes; for the (d) *Earth opened*, and swallowed up ^{(d) Num. xvi. 32.} *Dathan*, and covered the Congregation of *Abiram*.

I have now done with these *Pretenses*, and my endeavour hath been to *vindicate Religion* from the *charges* of unbelieving *Politicians*, and indeed to shew, that it is not a *Spirit* of carnal *Compliance*, but the *true*, and *genuine Spirit* of *Christianity*, which runs thorough the *Doctrine*, and *Government* of the *Church of England*. After what hath been spoken, I hope, I may presume to say with the *Apostle*, (e) *Do we now make void the Laws through Faith?* yea, *we establish the Laws*. ^{(e) Rom. iii. 31.} *Application.*

We have seen the *Christian Theory*; doth the *Philosophical Theory* provide better for the *safety* of *Princes*, and the *establishment* of *Government*?

It tells us in effect, that *Might is Right*; that every thing is *just*, or *unjust*; *good*, or *evil* according to the pleasure of the *prevailing Force*, whom we are to obey till a *stronger* then he cometh, or we be able to *go thorough* with resistance.

That, in reference to this life, *Obedience* is a matter of *Wit*, and *Prudence*, and after life there remain for us no *Concernments*.

How *stramineous* is this *Theory* compared with the *Christian Theory*, which speaks in this wise, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*, &c?

That this is the *genuine Christian Theory*, hath in some measure been demonstrated; so that indeed it may be wondered from whence these *Prejudices* have arisen.

But alas! that *my head were Waters!* They have one *grand Objection*, to which having spoken I shall conclude.

If this be the *Doctrine of Christianity*, how comes it to pass, that those, who pretend the *biggest to Religion*, and profess themselves the *ONLY Christians*, (the *Bigot*, and *Jesuited Romanist*; the *frighted*, and *transported Reformist*) have been authours of the most horrible *Treasons*, and *Rebellions*?

On the one hand, what mean the *Catholick Leagues*? On the other, the *Solemn League*, and *Covenant*, forced upon Subjects, *renitente Principe*?

On one hand what means (shall I say the *lowing* of the *Oxen*, or rather) the *roaring* of the *Bulls*, the *thundring* of *Excommunications*, the *absolving* Subjects from their *Allegiance*, the *actual Murders* of *Princes*, the Attempts for *blowing up King, Lords, and Commons* at one clap? What is the meaning of the *noise* of the *Bells*, of the *claps* of *Squibs*, and *Fire-works*, which we hear? On the other hand what was the meaning of that black, and terrible *Dispensation*, which will cause the ears of all Posterity to tingle.

It is but a little while since the *anointed* of the *Lord*, the *holiest*, the *wisest*; the *best* of *Kings*, was taken in the *snares* of men pretending to *Reformation*, and *sacrificed* to the *fury* of men possessed by an *evil Spirit* from the Lord. He was offered as a *Lamb*, that is *dumb*, or rather like the *Lamb of God*, to the rage of wilde. fanatical *Enthusiasts*.

It

It is but a very little while, since the *Lamentation* of *Jeremy* was in the mouth of all the faithfull in the Land.

(f) *Our King, and our Princes were amongst the Gentiles* (provoked to serve other Gods) *the Law was no more, the Prophets also received no vision from the Lord.* And all these things were brought to pass by men pretending wonders in Religion.

And they would know the reason of all these *Dispensations*. But who art thou, O man! who predest into the *secret* of God's *Pavilion*? How *unsearchable* are his *Judgments*, and his *ways* past finding out; such knowledge is too wonderfull, we cannot attain unto it.

It may be, these things have been done, that the Sayings of our *Saviour* might be fulfilled, (g) *It cannot be but offences will come, but we be to them, by whom they come;* and, (h) *It were better, that a mil-* stone, &c.

It may be, the *Gunpowder-Treason* was permitted to be designed, that the disappointment might be had in everlasting remembrance, and celebrated, as it is this day: (i) *Son of man, write the name of the day, even of this same day: the King of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same day.*

It may be, God suffered the late *Rebellion* to prevail, that he might not leave himself without witness, but shew forth his wonders in our days, in the miraculous restitution of our gracious Sovereign, and the Church. If he had not been driven out, how could he have been restored? not by might,

nor

nor by *power*, but by the *Spirit of our God*.

It may be, this was done, that we might say no more, *The Lord liveth*, which *delivered us* from the *Treason* of pretended *Catholicks*: but *The Lord liveth*, which hath *delivered us* from the *Tyranny*, and *bloody rage* of the wild Fanatical *Enthusiasts*.

Surely, all these things have been permitted, that the *Stone*, which the *Builders refused*, might be made *tried*, and *precious*, and that his *Patience*, his *Piety*, his *Constancy* in Religion, his *Christian Magnanimity* being manifest to all the World, by the impatient desire of all *Nations*, he might become the *head of the Corner*.

Surely, these things were suffered, that the *Faith*, and *Patience*, and *Loyalty* of the *Church* of *England* might be made *bright* and *glorious* by the *Flames* of *Persecution*: and that in the day, when God shall have given our most Gracious *Sovereign* the *hearts*, or *necks* of all his *Enemies*, it may not repent him of the *Kindness* he hath shewn to *Religion*, and *Government*, in lifting out of the *dust* the *despised* Head of that onely *Church*, (for ought I know) which makes *Obedience* without base restrictions, and limitations, an *Article* of its *Religion*.

Lastly, these things, it may be, have been permitted, that by the *Triumph* of this day, and by the vengeance lately executed in the sight of this *Sun*, the *Atheistical* world might be convinced,
that

that the Powers, that be, are ordained of God, and that, though the wicked do evil an hundred times, and God prolong their days; yet Vengeance is his, and he will repay it, and They, that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

FINIS.
